

THE NEW YORK PRESS.

Editorial Opinions of the Leading Journals Upon the Most Important Topics of the Hour.

COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The President and the Union Party.

From the Tribune.

—The New York Times, discussing the late speech of Senator Sherman, says:—
"The most striking point of Mr. Sherman's able speech, and which we desire to impress upon our radical friends, were as to what we are to gain by an open rupture with the President in the great case of all have at heart. If the destruction of the Union in all its legal rights, the securing him his wages and freedom to labor when he will, his personal safety, his education, his instruction, and his power to own and accumulate property, it is obvious that we risk all these precious fruits of victory by driving the President over to the Democracy of the North and the South."

"Will the right-minded men among us throughout the nation, who seek first of all justice to the freedman, and who start at the recently enslaved race on a new career of progress and freedom, risk all the results gained by the war for a distant end, which may not be practicable for many years—that is, for universal suffrage?"

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

At our last Union State Convention the editor of the Times was placed at the head of the Platform Committee, and reported such resolves as he saw fit. The candidates also were mainly the choice of himself and those who, with him, were accounted Johnson men *par excellence*. Through the Convention was put in a position to elect the conservatives had their way in it, because it was deemed best to attach President Johnson more firmly to the Union party, and not "drive him over to the Democracy."

So the convention opened a mass meeting in support of the Union ticket was to be held in this city. It was deemed expedient and proper that the President should, no matter how cautiously, avoid his sympathy with the party which elected him, and he accordingly made it known to that end. If we are not misinformed, the Editor of the Times made a journey to Washington on purpose to obtain such an avowal—but in vain. No syllable was uttered by the President, during the canvass, that evinced any desire or preference on his part that the Union ticket should succeed. But Mr. Montgomery Blair traversed our State, praising the President, and urging his hearers to support the Democratic ticket; and we are well assured that he privately told the Democratic leaders that, if they would carry the State, the Custom-House and other "spoils of victory" should be their exceeding great reward.

"They didn't win, and haven't yet clutched 'the spoils!'" But they had a Democratic festival in Tammany Hall on the 6th of January, and had a letter from the President, such as we could have for our mass meeting.

For some time past the entire Copperhead and Rebel press of the country has been enraptured with the President. The Rebels evidently expect to regain through him all they lost by rebellion, civil war, and discord. The "Government of a meek and quiet spirit" which they displayed for some months is now entirely discarded. They talk as in the bad old days when they supposed King Cotton autocrat of the universe. General Neal and his staff, in a conversation with two South Carolina aristocrats, who declared that the South would insist on being paid two billions of dollars for her slaves, and for the devastation she had suffered during the war, and her crippled soldiers and soldiers' widows, out on the pension list the same as the Rebels and from the West Indies, and from various other quarters, that the ex-Rebels consider themselves masters of the situation, through the President, and are acting and talking accordingly.

The assumption of the Veto Message that Congress has no right to act on such questions as are involved in the Freedmen's Bureau bill, until the States lately in revolt shall be represented, goes to the root of the matter. We know of no pretension ever set up on the part of the Rebels that goes beyond this. If it is well grounded, the representatives of those States may fairly and legally vote to repudiate the national debt, contracted while they were fighting to destroy the Union.

From every quarter, the Copperheads and impenitent Rebels have the Veto Message and the 22d of February speech as their thunder. We are not aware of a dissenting voice among them. Democratic fossils who have lain for years buried under the weight of popular indignation at their undignified conduct as our President, and proclaimed hostility to "corruption," are evincing an almost juvenile vivacity. Some who barely escaped mob violence because of their disloyal tendencies, are hurrying to Washington in vulture-like flocks, and profess to be there admitted to the inner councils of the White House. In short, they seem to have it all their own way.

Congress is daily bullied and threatened with being "cleaned out" by journals which, through our late and late, never pretended to conceal their entire sympathy with the Rebel cause. Even in the Senate, a Johnson Congress, to be composed of seceders from the present Houses combined with the Rebel Generals and Colonels elect from the rebel States, is plainly fore-shadowed. In journals at least open to suppression for disloyalty, the President is openly urged to disperse the present Congress with the bayonet, and install one of the Johnson order inside. And these reasonable indications incite no rebuke from the White House.

These are a few of the facts which seem to us badly to need explanation. If the President has cast in his lot with the Copperheads, he ought to say so frankly. He cannot at once win their confidence and the trust of the party which elected him. He must take his stand with one or the other, helping to fight its battles and sharing its prosperous or adverse fortunes. If his heart is with the Union party, he must stop ploughing with all manner of strange heifers, and act as he feels. If it is with the adversary, as now seems probable, he should, in common fairness, announce the fact, and let the public act as its judgment shall dictate. There is no middle ground; and there should be an end of disguise and evasion. We should very gladly hear that the President purposed to act henceforth with the Union party; but, if he has concluded to act with its adversaries, he owes it at least a prompt and frank avowal of the truth.

The Differences Between Congress and the President—Who is Responsible?

From the Times.

The desirableness of a governmental deadlock is not affirmed in any quarter. They who most applaud the attitude of the radicals, and most strenuously aid them by attacks upon the President, are constrained to acknowledge the difficulties which such an attitude entails, and the expediency of averting them if possible. The only exaltation we have discovered emanates from Democratic journals, which seem, with singular ill judgment, to conclude that by fomenting mischief they may in any manner be explained away, and the interests of their own party promoted.

With the course of the Democrats, in Congress or in the press, we have, in a party sense, no right to find fault. Their tactics are a part of their own business, and they are not to be blamed for aggressive, but not necessarily combative, range of their opponents' criticism. We may, nevertheless, be permitted to express the opinion that, merely in a party sense, it is not wise to play the game of factionalism for the purpose of widening a real or supposed breach on the other side; and still less is it wise to promote national political embarrassment for the sake of aggravating differences among the Union party.

We have seen instances since the commencement of the session in which opportunities for real understanding have been sacrificed simply to show the extent of the division in the Union ranks.

We have seen substantial success rendered to the radicals by Democratic votes which would have secured the triumph of moderate views, and we see Democratic newspapers, especially in this city, working apparently on the supposition that they best perform their duty by doing what they can to prevent the reconciliation of the legislative and the executive branches of the

Government. The foundation of their theory they have not consented to explain. But the theory itself manifestly is, that the interests of the Democracy are being promoted by whatever serves to render the harmonious and useful action of the Government impossible. So at least it has been up to the present time. And when a change occurs we shall gladly chronicle both the fact and the result.

Leaving the Democracy for the present out of the account, in what manner may existing difficulties be most properly and readily overcome? Sooner or later some concession must be made, on one side or the other; when shall the concession be, and by whom? These are the questions of the moment, and each succeeding report from Washington shows more plainly the necessity of answering them practically and at once.

The position of the President does not admit of misapprehension. He has done nothing which calls for retraction, correction, or defense. All that can truly be said in regard to him is that he has exerted the authority vested in him by the Constitution in the manner contemplated by the framers of that instrument. He has followed the dictates of his independent judgment. That he has none of the aspirations of a usurper is proved by his refusal to accept the enormous power which Congress conferred upon him. And certainly his resolute adherence to the requirements of the Constitution, his refusal to be a party to its violation in any particular, his temperate appeals to its provisions as the law by which States and Congress must be judged, may be regarded as evidence enough of the solidity of his position upon which he stands.

Nothing short of revolution can drive him from his position, and a revolution, were that possible, would be rather more likely to be in his favor than against him. For he claims nothing that is not by universal consent accorded to him; he asks nothing that he is not entitled to ask; and he asks nothing that he may not with propriety suggest; and does nothing which he has not sworn to do to the best of his judgment and ability. It is therefore evident that President Johnson is not only entitled to respect, but to a single step. All the concessions which it is in his power to make he has already made. And inasmuch as existing difficulties are not attributable to him, but are the product of indifference to his suggestions, the reasonable presumption is that their removal is in no degree dependent upon his will.

With Congress the case is different. The difficulties of which patriotic men complain originate there; the obstacles to harmonious action centre there; the responsibility arising out of these difficulties rests there. The "Government of the matter is, however, that these difficulties are wanton, needless, gratuitous, and that the hindrance to their removal springs not from adherence to any operative point of evident utility, but from a desire to obstruct in a manner at variance with the Constitution.

Most of the propositions looking to amendment of the Constitution have nothing practical to recommend them, since there is no likelihood that the sanction of the country would be given to such a measure. The number of States requisite to make a part of the organic law. The weeks of debate which these amendments have occasioned have, therefore, been wasted; nay, have been worse than wasted, because they have furnished facilities for the dissemination of misapprehensions, and aggression against the South and the President, to which the present deadlock is largely attributable. The very origin of most of these amendments is alone sufficient to indicate a far from wise source of evil and embarrassment. emanating from a seceding and unrepresentative Committee, they reveal more of a tendency to usurpation than is discoverable in any other quarter. The tone in which more than one of them has been pressed upon either House has not been calculated to inspire confidence in the plans of the committee of fifteen.

So it is also in reference to the unrepresented South. Under the pretense of sustaining the Reconstruction Committee, Congress has neglected one of its most important duties. It has neglected the duty of judging of the qualifications of Senators and Representatives, claiming to have been lawfully elected, legislating for States which are thus deprived of a voice in Congress, and insisting that the President, who has left himself bound to make. Even now, it is understood, when a single Southern State is about to be admitted, although not possessing any better title to representation than other Southern States, the act of admission is to be marred and morally weakened by a preamble reaffirming the whole ground of quarrel.

We submit, then, that for obvious reasons the obligation of taking the great decisive step in the direction of harmony and governmental peace devolves upon Congress. The opportunity for such a step belongs exclusively to Congress. And a continued neglect of the opportunity, and persistence in the course heretofore pursued, will entail upon Congress the odium and the punishment inseparable from prolonged opposition to the nation's will.

Let it not be said that we counsel the surrender by Congress of a single iota of its constitutional power or the sacrifice of even the least important of its privileges. We suggest only the avoidance of unnecessary ground, and the postponement of amendments to the Constitution which cannot possibly be carried, the abandonment of resolutions which wear the air and have the effect of defiance, and the settlement of the question of Southern representation on the basis provided by the Constitution, rather than in conformity with the dictates of embittered factionalism and personal pique.

The country holds Congress responsible for this deadlock, and it is for Congress, by the adoption of a conciliatory policy, hasten its removal, and so to facilitate the really useful legislation of which the country stands in urgent need.

The Emperor's Grand Idea—The Necessity of Checking the United States—The Latin Race.

From the Herald.

We give elsewhere the letter of the Emperor of the French to Marshal Forey, in which he communicated his "grand idea" in relation to Mexico, an article from the London Times showing how the Emperor's letter was regarded in Europe at the time of its publication, and the part of the Emperor's recent speech to the Chambers in which he refers to the withdrawal of the French troops. It will be seen that the Emperor's letter to Marshal Forey is a letter of instruction, by which the commander, in order perhaps to fill him with the spirit of the expedition, was let into the secret of its ultimate object. "We have an interest," says the imperial writer, "in the United States being powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole Gulf of Mexico, these command the Latin race on this side of the Atlantic. This is his 'grand idea.' Six months after this letter was written, and when the Emperor believed his object secured, he announced it to the world by publishing the missive in the *Moniteur*. 'We want to see the United States powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole Gulf of Mexico, these command the Latin race on this side of the Atlantic. This is his 'grand idea.' Six months after this letter was written, and when the Emperor believed his object secured, he announced it to the world by publishing the missive in the *Moniteur*. 'We want to see the United States powerful and prosperous, but not that she should take possession of the whole Gulf of Mexico, these command the Latin race on this side of the Atlantic. This is his 'grand idea.' Six months after this letter was written, and when the Emperor believed his object secured, he announced it to the world by publishing the missive in the *Moniteur*. 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